

able to buy off certain sections of the trade union bureaucracy and of the labor aristocracy.

In the industries the employers, departing from their traditional policy of crushing all organization among their workers, are now organizing "company" unions. These organizations, which are entirely under the control of the employers are formed for the double purpose of increasing the workers' productive efficiency and for blocking the growth of class consciousness and organization among them.

5. OTHER GROUPINGS AND PARTIES

The Progressive Party, headed by William B. Johnston of the Machinists Union, was an outgrowth of the La Follette campaign. It is a petty bourgeois organization based on individual membership, but so loosely constructed as to provide for collective affiliations of former labor parties, trade unions, non-partisan trade union committees, etc. The trade union wing of this party also control the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which is a loose political organization of national, state, and local trade union unions, whose official policy is non-partisan. The political programs of the Progressive party and the Conference for Progressive Political Action are identical. They provide for moderate reforms for labor and the farmers. The Socialist party functions practically as its left wing. This group of Progressive party and Conference for Progressive Political Action will rally considerable masses in the coming elections.

6. THE POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY.

The last Plenum of the ECCI outlined for our party the following main lines of policy, 1, the Bolshevization of our

party, with special emphasis upon the struggle against Loreism (the right wing), the centralization of the party apparatus and the re-organization of the party upon the basis of shop nuclei, 2, a more intensive participation in the trade union and specifically the building of party trade union fractions and the building and strengthening of the Trade Union Educational League, a special letter jointly signed by the Comintern and Profintern being addressed to our party on the trade union work, 3, the Plenum corrected the mistakes of both the leading party groups (Foster and Ruthenberg groups) on the labor party question, 4, a more systematic application of the united front policy with special emphasis on the need of formulating united front programs on the basis of immediate burning needs of the masses. The Workers Communist Party convention, held at the end of August, adopted a series of resolution outlining the ways and means of putting these policies into effect.

a) *Bolshevization*. The Plenum decision stated that Loreism is a right wing deviation from Leninism and that such an opportunist as Lore had no place on the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Communist Party or as editor of a Communist paper. Consequently, immediately upon the return of the delegation, the Central Committee had a special enlarged session and removed Lore from the editorship of the *Volks-Zeitung*. Between then and the Party convention Lore's attitude was one of hostility and resistance, with the result that at the party convention he was unanimously expelled from the party. With him went the *Volks-Zeitung* and the extreme right wing of the small German Federation. The condemnation of Lore by the ECCI and his expulsion from the party demoralized the right wing. Comrade Askeili of the Finnish Federation attempted to re-mobilize the right wing against the Central Executive Committee, but he was first ideologically defeated and then removed from the editorship of the Finnish paper *Tyomies*. This culmination of the previous campaign of the CEC against Lore stripped him of the bulk of his followers. Since his expul-

sion, Lore has carried on a guerilla warfare against the party and the Comintern, attempting to bring together the scattered two and a half international elements both within and without the party. This struggle against Loreism has distinctly improved the Bolshevik tone of the party.

b) *Trade Union Work.* At the party convention, in accordance with the Plenum decision, a resolution on trade union work was unanimously adopted, pointing out the following main tasks of the party in the trade unions:

1. The revolutionizing of the existing unions through strengthening and organizing the left wing in the unions by bringing all the proletarian elements of the party into the unions, by the organization of trade union fractions, the building up of the TUEL and the stimulation of the organization of the progressive opposition bloc.

2. The organization of the unorganized by the strengthening of the existing organizations, the creation of new unions in industries where none exist, the building of shop committees, and the utilization of the shop nuclei as points for inaugurating campaigns to organize the unorganized.

3. The unification of the trade union movement by the stimulation of the campaign to amalgamate the craft unions into industrial organizations.

Since the convention the Central Executive Committee has departed radically from this policy, which is also that of the Comintern and Profintern, and has developed the policy of liquidating the broad left wing organized in and around the TUEL and substituting in its place Communist fractions. Although stating that the proposed policy will not be put into effect until the Comintern and Profintern have passed upon it, the CEC is actually applying it at the present time. The first phase of the policy is an active campaign to discredit all the leading figures in the TUEL as disloyal to the Comintern. This is accompanied by the removal of leading TUEL comrades from responsible posi-

tions and the hamstringing and isolation of others who are not actually removed, in an attempt to cripple their activities. Finally the TUEL organization itself is being dismantled by the substitution of fractions for the TUEL machinery, by the refusal to permit the TUEL to send delegates to various important conventions, by refusing to support the activities of the TUEL, and by carrying on a widespread propaganda that the TUEL must be dissolved.

This big issue in the life of our party is now before the Communist International for a decision.

f) *Work Among the Negroes.* The fourth convention of our party unanimously adopted a resolution on the Negro question. The resolution deals with the race problem of the Negro race as a whole and with the special conditions of the Negro proletariat as part of the working class.

g) *Work Among Women.* The resolution of the fourth party convention on women's work, which was unanimously adopted, clarified this problem for our party, correcting errors of both leading groups and laying the basis for Communist mass organization and activity among working women in America.

l) *Anti-Imperialist Work.* The Workers Communist Party is rapidly awakening to the necessity for a militant struggle against American imperialism on all fronts.

m) *Party Program of Action.*

To bring unity in the party, the Comintern, after the last Plenum of ECCL, sent a representative, Comrade Green, to the United States. In accordance with the decision of the Plenum, he organized a parity commission to regulate the differences and to organize the party convention. This

consisted of three members from each of the two leading groups, with Comrade Green as Chairman. The Parity commission settled all the vexed organization questions by unanimous agreement. It also adopted, by unanimous agreement, 13 resolutions for the convention on the main political and organizational tasks of the party, and it worked out and controlled all the organizational arrangements for the convention.

The elections in the lower party units gave a strong majority to the Foster group. Consequently Comrade Green called the parity commission together 10 days before the opening of the convention and brought about an agreement on the composition of the incoming Central Executive Committee in order to still the factional struggle in the party. This agreement, which was signed by Comrade Green and all the representatives of both leading groups, provided for a majority of 13 for the Foster group and a minority of 8 for the Ruthenberg group in the new Central Executive Committee.

When the convention assembled and the delegates were all seated, the Foster group had a majority of 40 to 21. Just before the convention ended a cablegram unexpectedly arrived from the ECCI sharply criticising the Foster group. Although the cabled decision did not specifically remove the Foster group from the majority of the Central Executive Committee of the party, the delicate situation in the party, made it impossible for this group to take a majority of the Central Executive Committee. The whole matter is now before the ECCI for adjustment.

With Communist Greetings

WM. Z. FOSTER
ALEX. BITTELMAN

Moscow, January 18th, 1926.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 40

(CI Decision)

April 15, 1926

To all DISTRICT, CITY, SECTION COMMITTEES
and LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA BUREAUS.

Dear Comrades:—

You will find enclosed herewith the resolution adopted by the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International on the situation in our Party and the main tasks of the Party.

Fraternally yours,

C. E. RUTHENBERG

General Secretary.

Resolution on the American Question Adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

1. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern attaches specially great importance to the question of the creation of a real proletarian mass party in America. The hegemony of the imperialists of the United States of North America throughout the world renders the work of the American Communists an important and singularly responsible one. The Communist Party of America is called upon to play a tremendous role, and in many respects even a DECISIVE role. For that reason alone all the Sections of the Comintern and the Comintern as a whole, will attentively follow the activity of the American Section and support it in every possible way.

2. At the same time, the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern realises clearly the tremendous objective difficulties which the development of the American Party must overcome during the next period.

17. Greater attention must be given to the building of a mass Young Communist League and Pioneer movement. In the future the young will serve as a reservoir of trained Party members. The slogan "A League unit wherever a Party unit exists", issued by the CEC is correct and steps should now be taken to carry this into effect. Careful supervision and mutual agreement must be exercised in the transferring of League members into Party work, especially at the present time when the League is numerically weak.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

5) The Political Committee will approve Comrade Browder as the representative of the TUEL in the Profintern. In this capacity, Comrade Browder can participate in the meetings of the Executive and Presidium of the Comintern (without vote).

Signed) C. E. RUTHENBERG

Signed) W. M. Z. FOSTER

Signed) C. W. KUUSINEN

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 43

FINAL TEXT.

Endorsed by Presidium of ECCL, July 1st 1927.

RESOLUTION ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION

The United States of America, during the last decades, has developed into the mightiest imperialist power.

The task of the Workers (Communist) Party is to form a broad united front and to intensify the struggle against American imperialism.

The absolutely necessary struggle against Great Britain's plans to wage war on the Soviet Union and the imperialist intervention in China must therefore always be linked up by the Workers (Communist) Party with the mobilization of the masses for the most energetic fight against the specific role of American imperialism.

In this sense the demonstrations organized by the Party in connection with events in China in front of the British Embassy and Consulates were right and a proper move. But the writer of some of the editorials in the "Daily Worker" (May 7 and 8) deviated from this line of action by minimising the predatory role of American imperialism in China and by representing it one-sidedly only as a tool of British imperialism.

The Workers (Communist) Party must put the question of the recognition of the Soviet Union more energetically in the trade unions and in this way also fight against the pro-imperialist policies of the labour bureaucracy.

In its struggle against American imperialism, the Workers (Communist) Party must not overlook the question of the war and post-war debts of the capitalist states of Europe to the United States. Without getting into the leading strings of the petty-bourgeois politicians and without allotting these questions first place, the Party must actively support the international revolutionary struggles against the whole system of imperialist "peace" treaties, the Dawes Plan, and the finance policies of the imperialists from all of which the question of war debts is inseparable.

The attitude of the Workers (Communist) Party can only be for the cancellation of war debts; naturally not for the cancellation of the INTER-ALLIED debts, but of ALL debts of the last imperialist world war. However, it is not the task of the Workers (Communist) Party to carry on a special, separate struggle under this slogan, but it must combine this question with its general struggle against American imperialism.

ALL THESE questions must be utilised by the Party to rally the broad masses in defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution and to sever the masses from the imperialist ideology of the bourgeoisie and the labour bureaucracy. At the same time the Party must understand that in view of its numerical weakness it can act as a centre of attraction for the broad masses only when it has complete unity.

Those comrades active and influential in the trade unions must be drawn more into active Party work than hitherto and especially into the work of the leading committees thus achieving simultaneously the unification of the leadership of the trade union work by the Party. The entire Party membership must regard the work in the trade unions as the most important task of the Party.

The Presidium decides:

1) The Party Convention should take place in the end of August 1927 in view of the delay caused by the work of the American Commission.

2) In order to make possible the convention preparations with the least friction there will be formed "a commission for the preparation of the Party Convention" consisting of 6 (six) members with voting rights and 2 candidates (3 of the majority and 3 of the Opposition) under the chairmanship of a neutral comrade. As deputy chairmen of the Commission, Comrades Lovestone and Foster will function. The Commission has the right to arrive at binding decisions on all questions pertaining to the organisational and political preparation of the Party Convention. The Commission will also have the right to arrive at decisions on questions of mandate disputes in connection with the delegates to the Party Convention. The election of delegates for the Party Convention is to be on the proportional representation system.

3) The normalisation and democratisation of the Party life demand that the Party Convention after an objective consideration of all important questions elect a broad Party Executive into which a number of additional proletarian elements should be drawn. For the minority at the Party Convention important representation must be secured both on the Central Committee and in the Political Committee.

4) In order to demonstrate before the whole Party the necessity of collaboration and merger of the existing groups comrades Lovestone and Foster shall function as secretaries of the Party until the Party convention and Comrades Foster and Gitlow shall function as secretaries of the Trade Union Department until the Party convention. Further changes in the composition of the leading bodies (Central Committee and Political Committee) are rejected as inexpedient before the Party Convention. The composition of the Central Executive Committee is left to the decision of the Party Convention. It is recommended to the Party Convention to make a decision that the newly elected Central Committee is to set up immediately a collective Secretariat of three comrades, one of whom should be a representative of the Minority. It is recommended, in any event to elect Comrades Lovestone and Foster as secretaries.

5) The Presidium thinks it advisable that the Party Convention discuss and decide the question of the expediency of transferring the seat of the Central Committee.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 44

The following paragraph was adopted by the American Sub-Commission of the Presidium with the purpose to be embodied into the agreement of the American comrades as a statement on the policy followed by the ECCI towards the different groups in the American Party:

The Comintern recognizes that in many political questions the Ruthenberg group followed a more correct line in the past than the Foster group. Because of this the Comintern has generally been supporting politically the Ruthenberg group. On the other hand the Comintern had to protect organizationally the Foster group from the Ruthenberg group. Because the Executive had the opinion that the leading group of the majority of the Polcom had not sufficiently understood how to estimate the full significance of the trade union forces in the Party and that Comrade Foster at that time was more correct on many questions of the trade union tactics. The line of the Comintern has been: on the whole for the political support of the Ruthenberg group, and for bringing Foster nearer to the general political line of the Ruthenberg group, at the same time however, following the course towards the correction of the trade union line of the Ruthenberg group on the line of Foster thru closest cooperation in the Party leadership.

BRAUN

in name of sub-commission

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 47

The Worker, September 8, 1923

Cablegram—"Via Commercial"

Moscow 40 310PM

Ruthenberg 799 Broadway NY

Know no more important task American Workers than establishment militant daily. This should be rallying point for concentration all forces present time. Only after foundation daily will Comintern consider we have real mass party America. Zinoviev.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 50

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

JUNE 27, 1925

Present—Abern Cannon Bittelman Duane Ruthenberg and
Lovestone
Comrade Abern elected chairman

RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL RED AID AND THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS RELIEF

1. In accordance with the agreement reached with the representatives of the I R A and the I W R in Moscow by our delegates, the Party shall proceed with the organization of these two organizations as separate bodies.

7. However, the campaigns of the I R A and the I W R shall not be inner Party campaigns. That is, the appeal for financial support shall not primarily be made in the Party ranks but largely to the outside working class groups. Unless we can throw the major part of the weight of collecting funds and securing support of these organizations outside of the Party they do not fulfill their purpose.

8. The CEC shall appoint a sub-committee of three members which will study the details in regard to the organization of both organizations and submit detailed recommendations to the future meetings of the Committee in harmony with the above basic outline.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 51

MINUTES OF THE SECRETARIAT

JULY 24, 1925.

Present: Foster, Bittelman, Ruthenberg.

Policy in the Machinists' Union

Comrade Foster submitted the following proposals:

1—That the Party issue a manifesto in regard to the actions of the Machinists' Union threatening expulsion of all members of the Workers Party if they do not withdraw within thirty days and that the Trade Union Educational League and the Metal Trades Section follow this up with a similar manifesto.

2—That the Trade Union Educational League members who are members of Machinists' Union deny membership in the Trade Union Educational League.

3—That the known and active Party members acknowledge membership in the Workers Party and that they make a fight for their right to belong to the Party.

4—That those members of the Party who are not known as members of the Party shall sign the statement required denying membership in the organization.

5—That we establish contact with the Anderson organization in the Machinists' Union for the purpose of coming to an understanding in the struggle against the Johnston action.

6—That we introduce resolutions in the Machinists' Union condemning the action of Johnston in issuing the order that all Workers Party members are to be expelled. All points exclusive of Point 4 were adopted unanimously. Action on Point 4 postponed.

The meeting then adjourned.

Fraternally submitted,

C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 53

MINUTES OF POLITBUREAU

SEPTEMBER 2, 1925

Present: Comrades Green, Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Foster, Cannon. Candidates—Dunne (Gitlow absent). Comrades Loeb and Engdahl were present during discussion on Daily Worker. Comrades N. H. Tallentire and M. Hansen present during discussion on District 13 situation.

Chairman—Comrade Ruthenberg.

Immediate Tasks.

Motion by Ruthenberg

- 1—That we issue a manifesto to the Party calling upon all Party members to mobilize for work for the Party. The factional issues must not disturb the Party work in the future and the following campaigns must be stressed: The Anthracite Campaign, Party Reorganization, Party members join the Trade Unions, Labor Party Campaign.

- 2—That Comrade Ruthenberg write the manifesto to be approved by the Secretariat.

Motion by Comrade Foster

That the Trade Union Committee be instructed to work up plans to be presented to the Politbureau, for complete mobilization of Party proletarian members into the Trade Unions and the TUEL.

Motion by Comrade Cannon

That support of the International Labor Defense be added in the list of campaigns.

Comrade Cannon reported incidentally that the I L D has undertaken to finance the five I W W cases held for deportation and the I W W Defense Committee has accepted the

contributions of the I L D. This serves as another wedge for us into the I W W.

Motions by Lovestone

- 1—That the Agitprop Department be instructed immediately to prepare a pamphlet containing all the resolutions and decisions proposed to the convention including the statistics on membership and Party growth, similar to the one published for the Third Convention.
- 2—That the Organization Department be instructed to prepare a pamphlet consisting of the new Party constitution, the instructions for Party reorganization along shop nuclei lines, the Comintern organization letter and the model charts for Party organization given out by the Org Department of the C I.
- 3—That we publish a pamphlet on the convention dealing with the political significance of the convention, the fight against opportunism, Bolshevization of the Party, and other leading problems of the convention and that Comrade Ruthenberg write this pamphlet.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 58

Minutes of POLITBUREAU 8 PM October 19, 1925

Present—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Cannon, Dunne, Bedacht.

Candidates—Minor and Johnstone; Zam for YWL.

Observer—Engdahl.

Chairman—Ruthenberg.

Comrade Johnstone expressed the view that he would sign his name to the statement also since it expresses the views he has brought forward since he has been a member of the Politbureau. No action taken.

Trade Union Delegation to USSR

Comrade Ruthenberg read a letter from Comrade Foster regarding the delegation to the Soviet Union. Resolution

attached calling upon Purcell meetings to endorse the move to send a delegation of trade unionists to USSR.

Motion by Lovestone

- 1—That we accept the proposal except for the proposition of a public statement and to delete the first two paragraphs and to have the resolution adopted, revised as suggested by Comrades Cannon and Dunne.

Carried unanimously.

Young Workers League.

Letter read from the YWL NEC and supplementary report given by Comrade Zam. Cable from YCI also read, dealing with youth congress held October 1st and the future work of the League. The following action was taken on the concrete propositions:

- 1—To change the name from the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE to YOUNG WORKERS (COMMUNIST) LEAGUE.

Concurred in unanimously.

- 2—To change the name of the Junior Section of the Young Workers' League to YOUNG PIONEERS.

Concurred in unanimously.

- 3—There should be an exchange of representatives (not necessarily with vote) between all the sub-committees of the CEC of the Party and the NEC of the League.

Concurred in unanimously.

- 4—In view of the fact that the dues in the League have been raised to 40c per month, we request that the exempt age of Party members who are also League members be advanced to 23 years.

Motion by Ruthenberg

That the exempt age limit remain at 21 years.

Motion by Ruthenberg was carried unanimously thereby defeating No. 4.

- 5—Request the Party to permit the establishment of Youth Sections in the Labor Herald and the Agricultural paper of the Party.

Carried unanimously.

- 6—To issue the slogan "A vote for every Young Worker who is eighteen years of age" as a general League slogan in all the election campaigns.

Carried unanimously.

Motion by Zam.

- 1—With relation to the Soviet Russia campaign we make an appeal of propaganda for the sending of a young workers delegation to Soviet Russia.
- 2—That a youth block be formed at the ANLC.

Amendment by Lovestone.

To defer action on the youth delegation until after the trade union delegation has been sent.

Amendment carried unanimously.

No objection was raised to point 2 of Zam's motion.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 59

Minutes of SECRETARIAT October 19, 1927

Present: Lovestone, Gitlow, Cannon and Bittelman for the Labor Party question.

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ILD MATTERS

Comrade Cannon reported that the program of the Conference will be presented to the Secretariat within a week.

Motion by Cannon:

That the National Office instruct all Party papers to turn over their subscription lists for use by the ILD.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

Motion by Cannon:

That all arrangements be authorized for Comrade Cannon's making a tour for two months from coast to coast.

Amendment by Lovestone:

That the tour of Comrade Cannon should cover a total of two months though not continuous.

Voting: Motion as amended carried unanimously.

Comrade Cannon reported on the proposal to tour Powers Hapgood on the Cheswick case.

Motion by Lovestone:

To refer this matter to the Trade Union Committee.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

Comrade Cannon reported regarding his conference with Isaac D. Levine and the latter's break with the Boston Committee.

Motion by Lovestone:

That Comrade Cannon make arrangements to utilize Levine as a speaker and writer for the ILD on a limited scale immediately and then determine the continuation on a larger scale on the basis of Levine's record in the work.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

WOMEN'S WORK

Comrade Lovestone reported that the United Council of Working Class Women is prepared to pay for Comrade K. Gitlow's going to the Tenth Anniversary; and also to investigate the conditions of the working women in the Soviet Union.

Motion by Lovestone:

1—That Comrade Gitlow be authorized to accept the invitation and immediately arrange to leave.

- 2—That a credential be given to Comrade Gitlow as a member of the Party and as a responsible figure in the women's work.
- 3—That the New York District Organizer be immediately notified so that arrangements can be made to have comrades chosen to replace Comrade Gitlow in the work she has been doing in this field.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 60

OCTOBER 21, 1927

#343C

This is to certify that Comrade Kate Gitlow is a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America in good standing. She has been a member since the Party's organization. Comrade Gitlow is active in women's work. The Central Executive Committee asks that the Women's Secretariat especially cooperate and help Comrade Gitlow during her stay in the Soviet Union.

Fraternally yours,

JERRY LOVESTONE,
Executive Secretary.

SEAL—Central Executive Committee

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 63

MINUTES OF POLCOM

DECEMBER 23, 1925

#36

Present: Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Cannon, Dunne.
Candidates—Minor, Johnstone. Observers—Engdahl,
Browder and Bob, Com Frank Miller.
Chairman—Com Ruthenberg.

• • • • •

TRADE UNION DELEGATION CAMPAIGN

Comrade Ruthenberg read a cable and a letter from Comrades Foster and Bittelman dealing with the trade union delegation and the proposal that the delegation reach Moscow by May 1st.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That we send confidential instructions to all DOs in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Chicago that they take up this question energetically and organize the trade union fractions to get support of the local trade unions for a local conference.
- 2—That they shall make this one of their principle points of work at the present time.

Motion by Lovestone:

That we take up with Gold, the question of the Joint Board of the Furriers (New York) voting \$500 to help start the organization drive for a trade union delegation.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That the New York Committee for the T U delegation forward \$200 for organization work, nationally, to Chicago.
- 2—That Chicago be the center for this work.

Amendment by Cannon:

That Com Lewis devote his full time to the work and push it energetically.

Motions carried unanimously.

WOMEN'S WORK

Letter from Comrade Zetkin read dealing with women's work, problems and tasks American section should take up.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That a sub-committee be elected to consist of 3 CEC members for work among women.
- 2—That the executive section of the work shall be in the Org Dept.
- 3—That a report be formulated to Comrade Zetkin, Women's Dept. of the CI on the work that has been done in carrying out the resolution.
- 4—That we advise the CI Women's Secretariat that we will take note of all points of correction in regard to the convention resolution.
- 5—That the sub-committee draw in a number of women Comrades for this work.
 - a. The sub-committee shall take up the question of organizations of women's auxiliaries (trade union, etc.)

Motions carried unanimously.

Comrades Lovestone, Browder and Dunne were elected unanimously. Representatives of the League to be added by the NEC of the YW(C)L.

March 8 has been set for International Women's Day. Committee is to make arrangements for special editions of the Party papers on that day.

Motion by Bedacht:

That the Agitprop Department take note of the criticism of the letter of the Women's Secretariat of the articles in the Party press and take steps to remedy it.

Adopted unanimously.

MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS CABLE RECEIVED BY COM GEORGE.

Comrade Ruthenberg read the following cable received by Com Harrison George:

"RILU Executive Bureau empowers Comrade Harrison George act representative RILU Transport Workers Section at United Front Conference meeting Havana Cuba January fifteenth nineteen twenty-six stop our position stop

fight war danger and imperialism fostered by capitalist government generally and today United States particularly stop against Pan American Labor Federation as tool North American imperialism stop against T U collaboration with employers stop against disorganized State Labour Movement stop favour class struggle Proletarian organizations trade union unity nationally internationally for International Federation Transport Workers all branches transport for close collaboration RILU organizations with other revolutionary organizations seamen particularly MTW 510 IWW stop detailed instructions materials following stop."

Com George's reply: "Marine Conference transferred Montevideo, Uruguay March fifteenth avoid Cuban persecution stop preliminary visit important Latin American countries imperative."

Motion by Com Ruthenberg:

That we communicate by cable with the Profintern on the question of financing delegate to the Marine Transport Conference.

Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 65

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 4, 1926

#39

Present: Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Cannon, Dunne, Johnstone, Darcy (YWL). Observers: Ballam, Engdahl, Bob, F. Miller, Beidenkapp (IWAOW).

Chairman: Ruthenberg.

C I REPRESENTATIVES

Motion by Ruthenberg:

That Comrades Bedacht and Cannon be elected as representatives of the CEC to appear before the Comin-

tern on the American question and that they be the American delegates to the EECCL.

Amendment by Com Johnstone:

- 1—That Comrade Browder be sent over as the representative of the opposition to the new appeal on the trade union resolution which is being presented to the CL.
- 2—That Comrade Bittelman be one of the delegates.

After discussion vote was taken. For Johnstone No. 2—Johnstone. Against—all other members of the committee. For Johnstone motion No. 1—Johnstone. Against—all other members. Voting for Ruthenberg motion—Cannon, Dunne, Lovestone, Ruthenberg. Comrade Johnstone abstained from voting on this motion.

CABLE FROM COM LOSOVSKY

Cable received from Com Losovsky reading as follows:

Telegraph immediately text resolution regarding league before consideration question here stop league is part of profintern stop on no account take any decisions against League whatever or weakening league work stop.

Answer sent as per copy attached.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

That the reply be approved.

Amendment by Johnstone:

That the request of Comrade Losovsky be complied with.

Substitute by Lovestone:

That in the opinion of the CEC, the cable sent by Comrade Ruthenberg fully complies with the request of Comrade Losovsky and therefore we endorse the reply sent.

Statement by Johnstone "That the request of Comrade Losovsky is not being complied with as shown by the trade

union-committee meeting today in the refusal to adopt Comrade Foster's proposed plan of Party fractions and building the League and the statement of Ruthenberg that the CEC is not in line with the policies outlined for the League which is at present the policy of the Profintern and the Party.

In order to complete the records Comrade Ruthenberg states "that the program of the CEC as well as that submitted by Comrades Foster and Bittelman provided first for an organizational campaign to mobilize the Party membership for trade union work and organization of Party fractions. The CEC is carrying on this campaign immediately. Before this campaign can be completed, the CI will have made a decision on our proposal and the way will be clear for carrying into effect the policy approved by the CI for building the broad left wing movement in this country. Therefore, the action in relation to the Foster-Bittelman proposal in regard to the TUEL does not in any way militate against the League since such action cannot be taken until after the campaign for the organization of Party fractions even as Comrades Bittelman and Foster proposed."

Voting in favor of Lovestone substitute—Cannon, Dunne, Lovestone, Ruthenberg. Comrade Johnstone is recorded as voting for his own motion.

1/4/26 #39

Copy of cable in answer to Losovsky cable:

Plenum central endorses unity and polecom report eighteen for and four against stop Consultative vote candidates alternates DOs and leading Comrades present forty-two in favor and eight against stop trade union resolution adopted same vote proposes expansion present industrial national committees comma which except in needle trades are not connected TUEL comma into broad left bloc organizations comma organizing local left bloc conferences comma and when ground thus well prepared calling national left bloc conference to elect national committee and adopt national

program stop left wing paper to be established by organizing provisional national board stop TUEL to continue until national conference left block elects committee and adopts program and then to be absorbed in it stop immediate campaign to bring members into unions and organize fractions stop Balance program in resolution effective only after approval Comintern Profintern stop Give copy to Losovsky in answer to his cable to us."

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 69

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

APRIL 8, 1926

#64

Present: Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Abern, Minor, Johnstone.
Candidates—Swabeck, Engdahl, Ballam. YWL—Darcy.
Observers—Miller, Bob, Loeb, Gomez, Whiteman.
Chairman: Ruthenberg.

NEGRO WORK

Comrade Whiteman reported on the work done and results achieved on his tour and made recommendations.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That Comrade Whiteman be requested to write out his report so that it can be sent to the Eastern Department of the Comintern showing the progress in the work the ANLC is doing.
- 2—That we approve of the recommendation that the five persons mentioned be added as new members to the Executive Committee of the Congress. (Wm. Pickens, Monroe Trada, I. F. Bradley, Albert C. Candler, Robt. Lockman).
- 3—That we postpone action on the question of moving the ANLC office to New York until a later meeting.

- 4—That the second class mailing privileges for the Negro Champion be secured before the next issue of the paper.
- 5—That the Negro Committee be instructed to take up with Comrade Whiteman the proposal of initiating an immediate campaign on some concrete issue.

Motion by Ballam:

That we take up the question of the present constitution of the ANLC local ex comm with the Boston District and instruct them that the Congress is to be put on a broader basis in regard to the personnel of the officers.

Motions carried unanimously.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Comrade Gomez reported on the situation and occurrences since his last report, confining it to the most urgent matters that required attention. 1. Must build up El Liberatador as organ for the League in Latin America. 2. Matter of arranging organization trip through Latin America. 3. Sending of representatives to Philippines to take up work there; also a rep to Latin America. 4. Conference ~~called at~~ Brussels has been indefinitely postponed but definite steps being made to provide for sending of delegates. 5. Separate office for AAAIL from Party offices. 6. Young Workers League Anti-Militarist conference. 7. Cuban situation. 8. Responsibility for bills of local anti-imperialist organizations. Recommendations were made covering points.

Motions by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That the Org Dept shall make a survey in order to have a Comrade who can be sent to the Philippines, under the instructions and direction of the Eastern Department of the Comintern.

Carried unanimously.

(FURTHER MOTION BY RUTHENBERG)

- 2—That the anti-imperialist committee be instructed to work out a plan for the work in South America.
- 3—The anti-imperialist committee shall cast about for suitable persons to assign to this work and submit its plan at the earliest possible moment to the Polcom for approval and submission to the Presidium of the Comintern. The plan should also include a budget for this work.

Motions carried unanimously.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

That Com Gomez write a letter to the Cuban Comrades who claim to be secretaries of the AAAIL in Cuba pointing out that the Communist Party must be supreme for its members and also pointing out that it would be a crime to align the League against the Party. No matter what the present difficulties are they should be settled by the Party. In the meantime they should both prepare a statement as to what their individual cases are.

Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 71

READ AND DESTROY

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JUNE 11, 1926

#76

Present—Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Minor, Engdahl, Dunne, Foster, Bittelman, Darcy. Bob, Miller, Loeb, Johnstone.
(From the YWL—Schachtman, Shapiro, Williamson).
Chairman—Ruthenberg.

YWL

Comrade Darcy read the attached letter appealing against the decision of the Polcom not to grant credit of \$70 to the YWL by the Daily Worker for the printing of collections lists, in view of the success of the League in reducing its bill of \$3,200, February, to \$2,000 in June, etc. After discussion, Comrade Dunne moved.

In view of the facts presented by the League representative, that the credit be granted in this case.

Amendment by Ruthenberg:

That the League pay $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount of the bill for printing those lists and the balance within the 30 day period.

Substitute motion by Ruthenberg:

That the Daily Worker print the lists with the understanding that the first money that comes in goes to the Daily Worker to liquidate the bill.

Substitute motion carried unanimously.

Com Ruthenberg reported the following recommendations of the League referred by the Plenum of the CEC to the Polcom for action:

- 1—Establishment of an anti-militarist department to help build the united front against militarism and publish anti-militarist literature.
- 2—Endorsement of the YWL National School and urge Party Districts to help support it financially.
- 3—That the Party take steps to release certain League comrades from work in the Party all over the country to make it possible to build the League.
- 4—That a 10¢ assessment be levied on all Party members to build the League.

Motions by Ruthenberg:

- 01—That we elect a committee of three including a representative of the YWL to study the question of the anti-militarist department and that this committee prepare a report on what can be done on this question.

- 2—On the question of the school, the districts have already taken action to support the schools. The motion is that the Polcom endorse the League schools.
- 3—That Comrades Darcy and Lovestone be appointed as the committee to submit a list of League comrades to be released from Party duties—the list to be approved by the National Committee of the League and the Polcom of the Party.
- 4—As soon as the present Party assessment is collected; that an assessment of 10¢ be levied on the Party membership for the benefit of the League.

All motions carried unanimously.

ICOR DELEGATE

Com Ruthenberg reported that on the basis of minutes he had received from the Jewish Bureau which stated that Wattenburg was to be sent to some conference in Moscow as a delegate, he had taken up the matter with the Jewish Bureau and their reply clarifies the situation. Wattenburg is to be sent by the Icor as delegate to a Moscow Conference and the matter came before the Bureau for endorsement of policy to instruct Party fraction in the Icor to vote for sending Wattenburg in opposition to other nominees.

Motion by Ruthenberg: ☉

To approve the sending of the delegate by the Icor.
Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 72

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JUNE 15, 1926.

#77

Present—Ruthenberg, Engdahl, Gitlow, Minor, Johnstone,
Dunne, Darcy, Bob, Miller, Whiteman.
Chairman—Ruthenberg.

PITTSBURGH-TAPOLOFSKY CASE

Comrade Tapolofsky is up for hearing for the revocation of his citizenship papers on the ground that he is a Communist. Comrade Jakira writes asking for instructions as to how he shall answer questions put to him in the hearing.

Motions by Ruthenberg:

That if it is necessary for the Comrade to do so, to retain his citizenship in the United States, he shall answer the questions as follows:

- 1—That he is attached to the constitution of the United States.
- 2—That he takes the oath of allegiance to the constitution of the United States.
- 3—On the question of the Soviet Government he shall declare that he has no opinion on the question because he has not sufficient knowledge of the situation.
- 4—He shall declare that he favors the workers and farmers controlling the government in order to create better conditions for themselves. At the present time, he shall state, that he is in favor of workers and farmers nominating their own candidates.
- 5—That if it cannot be proven that he is a member of the Party, he shall deny membership in the Party.

Carried unanimously.

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WHITEMAN REQUEST

Letter read from Comrade Whiteman in which he requests permission to go across for reasons listed in the letter.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That the Committee advise Comrade Whiteman that it does not believe at this time he should proceed to the Comintern.

- 2—That Comrade Whiteman be requested to make a detailed statement of the proposals which he has raised in his letter to be forwarded to the ECCI for consideration. If the Eastern Department then feels that Comrade Whiteman should come to Moscow in regard to the matters listed in his letter, the Committee shall take the matter up further.
- 3—We should make immediate inquiry as to the conference to be held in Brussels, the nature of the Congress and whether it is expected that delegates are to come from the United States.

Motion by Dunne

That the Negro Committee be instructed to prepare a detailed report for the Polcom relative to the organization and political status of the ANLC in relation to the general work of the Party.

Carried unanimously.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PARTY TO THE COMINTERN

Cable received from Comrade Bedacht stating that he is back in Moscow and he wishes to return to the United States.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That we request the ECCI to release Comrade Bedacht to return to the United States.
- 2—That we appoint Comrade Minor as representative of the Party to proceed to Moscow immediately upon Comrade Bedacht's arrival in the United States.

Comrade Dunne nominated Comrade Hathaway.

Comrade Bittelman nominated Comrade Browder.

Voting for Browder—Johnstone, Bittelman.

Voting for Hathaway—Dunne.

Voting for Minor—Engdahl, Ruthenberg, Gitlow and Minor.

STUDENTS' DEPENDENTS

Students were sent to the Lenin school with the understanding that upon their arrival the Lenin School would make arrangements for support of their dependents in the United States. It seems that when the matter of student's dependents in America was submitted the School instructed that the Party make a donation of \$50 per month and the students send part of what is allotted to them. Com Ruthenberg reported that Mrs. Hathaway has four children and has been receiving \$15 per week which is an impossible sum for the maintenance of such a family. She received a letter from Hathaway that he can send \$50 per month and that the school requested us to pay \$75. In the case of Hathaway, money will have to be provided for his family or he will have to return. In the case of Mrs. Bell who has one child, the amount furnished her in the past by the Party and the amount sent by Comrade Bell is sufficient.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

To continue to pay Mrs. Bell \$15 each week and to pay Mrs. Hathaway \$75 per month in weekly installments.

Motion carried unanimously.

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 INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Com Ruthenberg reported that a cablegram had been sent to the Comintern regarding Herberg but that no reply has been received. However, a new development occurred: Com Bosse, New York, has been ready to go across for sometime. He is fitted for this position.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

That we recommend to the Information Department of the Comintern the employment of Com Bosse as the American Reporter in the Information Department.

Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 73

READ AND DESTROY

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JUNE 29, 1926

#78

Present—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Engdahl, Minor, Cannon,
Bittelman, Foster, Darcy, Dunne, Beidenkapp and Loeb.
Chairman—Ruthenberg.

o W. E. DOUGLAS

Letter read from Com Douglas requesting, if possible that he be given an opportunity to attend the Lenin University in Moscow and upon completion of his course to be released from the Russian CP to come to the U. S. for work here. He will complete his present work with the Kusbaz on March 1, 1927, is now in U. S. for a period of three months.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

To write to the Comintern stating the request of Comrade Douglas and that if the Comintern can give him the opportunity to attend the Lenin School at the time indicated, that the Party favors it being granted and when he finished his studies that he be released to return to the United States.

Motion carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 74

READ AND DESTROY

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 13, 1926

#94

Present—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Gitlow, Foster,
Bittelman, Cannon, Dunne, Johnstone, Darcy (YWL)
Miller, Puro, Overgaard, Loeb, Swabeck.
Chairman—Ruthenberg.

CABLE-MOVING

Cable read from Comintern relative to moving (see attached).

Motions by Ruthenberg

- 1—That we acknowledge receipt of instruction of the CI to the CEC on this question.
- 2—That the Polcom decide that the Daily Worker shall be removed to New York and that preparations shall be made for this removal by the 3rd birthday of the Daily Worker January 13th.
- 3—That the question of the removal of the Daily Worker shall not go beyond the Polcom until after the present money raising campaign is completed and the members of the Polcom are bound not to discuss this matter in any way outside of the Polcom.

Comrade Johnstone asked what was the result of the referendum to the CEC on the question of moving. Comrade Ruthenberg replied that the votes were cast 11 for and 11 against.

Voting in favor of motion #1—carried unanimously.

“ “ “ “ “ #2—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Gitlow.

“ against “ “ —Foster, Bittelman, Cannon.

“ in favor “ “ #3—unanimous.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Motion by Johnstone:

That the representative of the Party to the CI make a report to the Polcom at least twice a month.

Carried unanimously.

INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTY TRADE UNION FRACTIONS

In order to intensify the application of the CEC resolution on "The Broadening of the TUEL and the building of an oppositional bloc in conformity with the CI decision," the following measures shall be put into effect immediately.

FORMATION OF BROAD LOCAL GENERAL GROUPS

Under the immediate direction of the respective District Secretaries and Trade Union Committees, steps shall immediately be taken for the formation of left wing groups, as broad as possible, in all industrial centers. To this end the following policy shall be adopted:

1. Where there is already a definite broad oppositional foment existing in the local general trade union movement, or where it is possible to develop one around some burning issue in the very near future, such as the setting up of an oppositional slate in the union elections, the establishment of broad committees for organizing the unorganized or for the formation of a Labor Party, etc., steps shall be taken directly for the formation of such a broad united front of the oppositional elements. In the resultant organization, our policy shall be to bring in as much as practicable of our general program of action and to gradually crystallize our fractions and the more conscious left elements into a definite left wing within the broad movement.

2. Where there is no immediate prospect of developing such broad united front movements with the oppositional elements around single issues, local conferences shall be called as soon as possible on the basis of our general program of action and left wing organizations formed of those who subscribe to it, this program of action to include a militant fight against the employers, the organization of the unorganized, the formation of a Labor Party, amalgamation, democratization of the unions, and the elimination of gangsterism and corruption. Where such left wing groups

are established they shall be considered as instruments for the organization of wider oppositional movements, and to this end they shall energetically strive to put into effect their local programs of work, calling for the formation of joint election slates, organizing committees, Labor Party committees, strike relief committees, etc. When broader local general oppositional united front movements are formed the existing left wing groups shall, except in unusual cases, merge with them and become their left wing.

That is, the Point "1" policy, is to first form the broad oppositional movement, and then crystallize a left wing, comprising our Party fractions and other left elements, within it; and the Point "2" policy, is to first form the left wing of fractions and other conscious elements, and then build a broader movement around it.

In accordance with the foregoing general instructions, the following practical steps shall be taken:

In all industrial centers, broad local general oppositional groups or left wing groups shall be formed, as local circumstances dictate. They shall be given such names as may be deemed most expedient.

The meetings for the formation of these local general groups shall be arranged tour-wise so that they may be covered by TUEL organizers.

In the formation of these various local groups the initiative of non-Party elements shall be developed.

It shall be our aim to bring all these local groups under the general leadership, official or unofficial, of the TUEL General Committee, to secure their acceptance of Labor Unity as their official organ, and to get their support for the Workers' Educational Fund.

FORMATION OF BROAD LOCAL UNION GROUPS

In all localities and in all unions, the local union fractions, under the immediate control of local Trade Union committees and leading fractions, shall at once proceed to establish

broader groups in their respective local unions. Special attention shall be paid to the local unions in heavy and key industries.

The policy outlined in the foregoing general instructions, "1" and "2", shall also apply in the case of the formation of broader groups in local unions. Where burning issues exist broad united fronts shall be created on that basis, but otherwise general left groups shall be at once formed upon the basis of our trade union action program, these left wing groups to immediately strive for the formation of broader groups, as above explained. In all cases the fractions will be required to establish groups broader than mere party lines, whether the new groups shall be left wing in character, or broad united fronts, depends upon local circumstances.

These local union oppositional groups shall be given such names as may be most expedient. They shall be drawn under the leadership, official or unofficial, of the National Industrial Committees and Local General Groups in their respective industries and localities. They shall support Labor Unity and the various finance systems of their National Industrial Committees, and also the Workers Education Fund.

FORMATION OF BROAD LOCAL INDUSTRIAL GROUPS

In accordance with the general instructions "1" and "2", broad oppositional movements shall be developed among all the local unions of one trade in a given locality (Joint Boards, District Councils, etc.) and among all the local unions in a given local industry (Building Trades Councils, Metal Trades Councils, etc.) applying the foregoing policy regarding names, finance, Labor Unity and the general leadership of the TUEL.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

As rapidly as practicable, National Industrial Committees, based on the present general system, shall be organ-

ized in all the principal industries now without such committees. There shall also be organized National Union Committees to cover the most important individual unions, these National Union Committees to work under the general direction of their respective National Industrial Committees. The NIC's shall publish their own papers, adopt financial

Pg 6

systems and be known by such names as may be most convenient to secure the best results. They shall include workers in various centers, including non-Party militants.

The General Committee of the TUEL shall hold an enlarged meeting in Chicago on _____ to which shall be invited Party and non-Party left wingers from various cities and industries. This meeting shall issue a statement to the labor movements stressing the non party character of the TUEL and emphasizing its program of struggle around concrete issues. The meeting shall also develop the Workers' Education Fund, work up detailed plans for organizing left wing and progressive groups, map out general left wing programs for the various industries, prepare for the coming national conference of the TUEL, and broaden out the General Committee to include militants in the various cities. It shall take definite steps to build up Labor Unity.

By WM. Z. FOSTER.

September 28, 1926.

PROPOSALS FOR LAUNCHING THE TUEL JOURNAL

1. *Make-up of the Paper*

a—Name: Labor Unity.

b—Size: Eight pages, half newspaper size.

c—Intervals: Semi monthly.

d—Launching: Steps to be taken immediately.

e—Price: \$1.50 per year, 5 cents per copy.

2. *General Policy and Program*

a—Labor Unity shall aim to serve as the general organ of the left wing and progressive tendencies and group-

ings in the trade union movement. It shall be a forum for the exchange of views and crystallization of opinions on progressive and revolutionary movements in the labor unions. It shall be the unofficial organ of the TUEL.

- b—Labor Unity shall be a non partisan paper supporting all political, economic, and other workers' organizations that fight against capitalism.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 75

**READ AND DESTROY
MINUTES OF POLCOM**

OCTOBER 29, 1926

#97

Present: Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Engdahl, Foster, Bittelman, Cannon, Darcy (YWL), Swabeck, Abern.

Chairman: Ruthenberg.

C. P. S. U. & Zinoviev as Chairman of Comintern

Comrade Ruthenberg presented the attached resolution for adoption by the Polcom.

Comrade Bittelman proposed that in the second sentence of the first paragraph, it be made to read, "It has endorsed and reaffirms its endorsement of the general line of policy of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, as against that of the opposition for the development of the economic system . . . etc."

Motion by Bittelman:

That the District Committees of the Party be directed to organize series of membership meetings at which the Agitprop and Central Committee shall supply speakers to talk on the issues before the Russian Party and nature of the controversy.

Motion by Bedacht:

That the Central Committee carry on series of articles in the light of the decision of the Polcom in the Daily Worker to be also sent to the Party press. These articles to be confined to the CEC and members of the Polcom and candidates of the CEC who shall be instructed to write for the information of the Party members.

- Motions carried unanimously. Resolution and amendment carried unanimously.

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PLENUM OF ECCI

Comrade Ruthenberg reported receipt of a cablegram advising of date of the Plenum of the ECCI (November 15) the agenda and that 4 delegates have been apportioned to the W(C)P, including the 2 EC members; that if the 2 EC members do not go to the Plenum that 4 other delegates shall be elected.

Letter was read dealing with the same subject in more detail.

Com Cannon reported that he recently received a circular from Mopr inviting him to all-world congress of Mopr for a report on the American Bureau and that it was to take place about the same time as the ECCI plenum.

As EC members, Comrade Ruthenberg stated that in view of his legal complications, there would be a serious risk which would have a bad effect on the other comrades involved in the Bridgman cases and therefore he did not intend to go to the Plenum.

Com Cannon stated that he didn't want to go, personally, but felt obliged to go from the standpoint of the Mopr and also in view of the Comintern situation.

Comrade Foster stated his intention is not to go.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

That Comrade Lovestone go as representative of the CEC with Comrades Minor and Pepper also as regular delegates, to the Plenum.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 76

READ AND DESTROY

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 14, 1927

#112

Present: Bedacht, Dunne, Engdahl, Foster, Johnstone, Ruthenberg, Williamson (YWL).

REPORT OF CI REPRESENTATIVE

Letter from Comrade Minor, submitting the minutes of the American delegation to the Seventh Enlarged Executive Committee meeting.

Comrade Ruthenberg moved that the minutes be made available for the members of the Polcom.

Motion adopted unanimously.

NEW YORK PORT BUREAU

Comrade Foster reported on the possibilities of organizing the New York Port Bureau and submitted a statement from Comrade Weinstone that \$300 was needed immediately. Comrade Ruthenberg stated that the Party did not have funds for even its most pressing work under way at the present time and therefore new ventures requiring financial expenditures would have to await an improvement in the financial condition of the Party.

No action taken.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 77

READ AND DESTROY

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 24, 1927

#119

Present: Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Puro, Cannon,
Foster, Bittelman, Swabeck, Johnstone, Darcy (YWL).

MINERS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE—IPC

Comrade Foster reported that Salutsky wired us to send a delegate. Question of finances was discussed.

Motion by Foster:

To wire them that we will send a delegate; that that they should wire us funds for fare. Carried unanimously.

MOPR CONFERENCE

Com Cannon reported that the World Congress of the Mopr is to be held March 18th and a cable has been received stating that three delegates from the U. S. and one from Canada should go to the conference, leaving immediately. Cable stated Com Cannon should proceed immediately as one of the delegates.

Motion by Cannon:

That Com Cannon go immediately as a delegate and that Comrades Maurer and Shachtman constitute the other two delegates.

Amendment by Bedacht:

That Com Cannon go immediately and that appointment of other two delegates be postponed until the next meeting of the Polcom.

Voting for amendment—Ruthenberg, Bedacht, Lovestone,
Puro. Opposed—Foster, Bittelman, Cannon.

IWA

Comrade Biedenkapp reported on the IWA conference held from which he had just returned, making proposals of both general and specific character.

Motion by Ruthenberg:

- 1—That the Polcom endorse the building up of the IWA in accordance with the decision of the secretariat of the CI.
- 2—That we endorse the formation of the corporation for handling films.
- 3—That the other concrete recommendations be referred to the subcommittee of three on I W A, to be elected on which Comrade Biedenkapp should function as one of the members.
- 4—That the division of the proceeds of film showings shall be 25% to the Art Film Corporation, 35% to the I W A, 20% to the National Office and 20% to the local organization of the Party.

Amendment by Swabeck:

That 15% go to the National Office and 25% to the districts.

Motions by Com Ruthenberg carried unanimously.

Comrades Ruthenberg, Bittelman were elected together with Com Biedenkapp as the subcommittee.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 80

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

APRIL 25, 1927

#129

Present: Lovestone, Bedacht, Puro, Wolfe, Foster, Cannon, Bittelman. Johnstone, Abern, Darcy, Kaplan.

CHINA

Comrade Lovestone read the following cable received from the CI.

Demolition in Soviet Embassy Peking, arrests, violence also British blockade of Shanghai Consulate permitted by Diplomatic Corps and undoubtedly inspired by English money provoke war with USSR. Chinese ports occupied by Imperialists. Situation grave, war against Chinese Revolution began, war threatened against USSR. All Communist parties must raise broad masses, also youth to protest using every possible help. Categorically necessary shortest period to organize mass anti-British demonstrations preferably before British Embassy Consulates. When possible questions to Congressmen Senators demanding clear answer re Government attitude.

Com Lovestone brought to the attention of the Committee the announcement that the U. S. had pulled out of the joint group in reference to the action against China. There has been a statement issued by Green of the A. F. of L. following up the statement of the State Department.

Motions by Lovestone:

On the basis of these items—That we instruct the DOs to hasten with the preparations for the demonstrations before the British Embassy Consulate offices.

- 1—In these demonstrations, amongst the general slogans of the Party in the Hands Off China Campaign, there be specifically raised the slogan of condemning the role of the British imperialists in the raid on the Soviet Embassy at Peking.

- 2—In view of the declaration of the A. F. of L. that the trade union department prepare a new resolution to be circulated in all trade unions as a follow up of the Green declaration and demanding solidarity of the American trade unions with the Chinese Labor unions and the Nationalist Government at Hankow.
- 3—That Comrade Wolfe be held responsible for directing all publicity in the Hands Off China campaign.

Carried unanimously.

CI COMMUNICATIONS

The following letter was received from the-Comintern:
Dear Comrades:

At its last Session of March 16th, the Presidium of the ECCI decided to convene the next Plenum of the ECCI for May 10th, 1927 and to adopt the following agenda for this session:

- 1—The peril of new wars and the question of struggle against same. The report of this item of the agenda is to be made by one representative each from the CP of Great Britain and France.
- 2—The Chinese Revolution. Report of Comrade Bucharin and eventually a Chinese comrade.
- 3—Date for the convocation of the VI World Congress.
- 4—Questions of individual sections.

If Sections wish certain questions to be discussed at the Plenum they should inform the Polit-Secretariat of the ECCI about these questions in good time before the Plenum, they should appoint a reporter on these questions, giving his name to the Polit-Secretariat and sending the written material appertaining to these questions, giving his name to the Polit-Secretariat and sending the written material appertaining to these questions, in order that the material could be sent to the Central Committee of the Sections prior to the Plenum.

With regard to the delegation-regulation the following decision was made: only members of the ECCI are to participate in the Plenary sessions. The place of an expelled or deceased member of the ECCI is taken by a candidate of the ECCI, or, in the event of no candidate being available, by a representative appointed by the CC of the Party in question. If Parties wish to send other representatives instead of a member of the ECCI, or have other proposals to make, this will have to be decided in every concrete case by the Polit-Secretariat. Therefore, it would be desirable for central committees to send in good time any proposals they have to make with regard to this, in order to enable the Polit-Secretariat to deal with them soon enough, as not to delay the despatch of the delegations.

The Plenum of the ECCI is not to last longer than 5 or 6 days.

Members of the ECCI and representatives instead of such ECCI members, proposed by the Party and approved by the Political Secretariat will have their travelling expenses to and from Moscow defrayed by the ECCI; also the ECCI makes itself responsible for the cost of their stay in Moscow.

With Communist greetings,

pp. Secretariat of the ECCI:

(Piatnitsky)

Com Lovestone then read the following cabled decision from the Comintern:

We hold the coming of Jack, Ben and Bill to Session of Executive to be necessary stop The coming of Jim and Weinstein would also be desirable but in case the Polburo holds this to be inexpedient, then we ask that written reports on part of these comrades be sent stop Regarding Ben we would excuse him from Session of Executive only in case all members Polburo including Ben himself are against his coming stop We say latter because we do not sufficiently know present needle trades situation stop No other Comrades shall

come stop This telegram is to be shown to all five Comrades here mentioned stop

ECCI KUUSINEN.

Motions by Wolfe:

In execution of the decision in the letter and telegram:

- 1—That Comrades Foster, Lovestone and Gitlow make preparations to leave at once in order to attend the Executive session.
- 2—That Bedacht act as general secretary of the Party during Lovestone's absence.
- 3—That Wolfe act as agitprop director while Bedacht is acting secretary.
- 4—That we recommend that Comrade Johnstone act as secretary of the TUEL while Foster is away.
- 5—That Weinstone act in place of Gitlow as CEC representative on the National Needle Trades Committee while Gitlow is away.
- 6—That Comrade W. J. White be elected candidate to the Polcom.
- 7—In view of the fact that Comrades Cannon and Weinstone have not manifested such political opposition with the Polcom as to constitute a separate program and in view of the fact that they have been given an opportunity to present their statement in writing to the CI and in view also of the shortage of the forces which will be occasioned by so many of our leading Comrades leaving the country at this critical time, and the importance of such matters as the Sacco Vanzetti campaign and the necessity of handling the needle trades situation properly with Com Gitlow away, I move that Comrades Cannon and Weinstone be instructed to present their views in writing to the Executive Committee of the CI.
- 8—That we notify Comrade Dunne accordance with the cabled decision of the ECCI he is not to attend this session of the ECCI.

- 9—That we inform the CI that in view of the fact that these leading Comrades are leaving the country, we are postponing the plenum of the Central Executive Committee of our Party and,
- 10—In view of the inadvisability of the Y W L holding a plenum without the Party's holding a plenum, that the YWL plenum also be postponed.

Motions by Foster :

- 1—That the delegation should consist of Comrades Lovestone Weinstone and Foster and the matter of whether or not Comrade Dunne is eligible should be referred to the CI for decision.
- 2—Inasmuch as these three Comrades have been intimately connected with the needle trades situation and inasmuch as the fight in New York requires the concentration of those actively in the work, that Gitlow should not go.
- 3—That telegrams shall be sent immediately for the holding of a plenum of the CEC within two days.
- 4—That in the absence of Comrade Lovestone that Comrade Bittelman act as secretary.
- 5—In the event that it is decided by the CI that Comrade Gitlow shall go, that Com Zack shall be secretary of the needle trades.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 80

Statement by Kaplan :

That the Party has already been informed that the NEC of the League receiving the following telegram from the ECYCI: "ECYCI demands NEC not to interfere party factional struggle and prevent it in League stop concentrate League forces intervention China offensive capitalists and bureaucrats stop for that and League problems convene full plenum NEC

stop changes composition bureau or secretariat as elected last plenum plus Zam and Don are not permissible stop after plenum Sam should leave stop his replacement BUPO special letter."

I therefore request that the Polcom of the Party, before it takes any action which would result in the postponement of the League Plenum that they take the matter up with the ECYCI.

Motion by Cannon:

- 1—That the YWL plenum be held as already scheduled.
- 2—That we separate the question of the delegation from the other motions and deal with the other motions after we have disposed of motions on the delegation.

Motion No. 2 carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 83

MINUTES OF SECRETARIAT

SEPTEMBER 13, 1927

#1

Meeting opened at 5:20 P.M.

Present: Lovestone, Foster, Gitlow.

APPLICATION FOR LENIN SCHOOL

Motion by Lovestone:

To work out a questionnaire which the students must answer. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Motion by Lovestone:

To send a wire to the CI as follows: That we will not be able to send any Lenin students unless they cable us money in advance for their fare. Voting: Carried unanimously.

TEN NEGRO STUDENTS

Motion by Foster:

That it is not possible to find ten comrades to send and that we should try to get two or three, which will be sufficient.

Motion by Lovestone:

To refer this matter to the Polcom. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 84

MINUTES OF SECRETARIAT

SEPTEMBER 15, 1927

#2

Meeting opened at 3:00 P.M.

Present: Lovestone, Foster, Gitlow, Grey.

REPRESENTATIVES TO COMINTERN AND PROFINTERN

Motion by Lovestone:

To send two new representatives, Engdahl to the Comintern and some first line comrade to the Profintern. That Harrison George should not be kept as the representative to the Profintern. Voting: For—2 (Lovestone, Gitlow). Against—1 (Foster).

Motion by Foster:

I do not believe that we should change the representative to the Profintern that H George is pretty well posted on the general line of the Party in T U work. I do not have any objection to Engdahl as Comintern representative:

Motion by Grey:

That Johnstone or Ballam be considered as representative.

Motion by Lovestone:

That the question of the election of the representative to the Profintern be laid over to another meeting. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 87**MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE**

OCTOBER 20, 1927

#5 3:30 P.M.

Present: Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, Cannon, Bittelman, Minor, Stachel, Weinstone, Lifshitz, Trachtenberg.
 Observers: Ballam, Aronberg, Krumbein, Zack, Mindel, Baker.

Agenda:

- 1—National School
- 2—Lenin Students
- 3—C I Communications
- 4—Y W L Convention
- 5—Approval of Dist. Organizers
- 6—Language Fractions

C I COMMUNICATIONS

Comrade Lovestone reported that a letter had been received informing us that the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions is to be held in March, 1928.

Motion by Lovestone:

That the notice be referred to the Trade Union Department for recommendations and action. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Comrade Lovestone reported on the communication received regarding the trial of the Leading Italian comrades in Italy.

Motion by Lovestone:

That this communication be referred to the Agitprop Committee for action. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Amendment by Bittelman:

To have the Agitprop hold a meeting with Comrade Cannon and the Secretary of the Italian Bureau for action. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Comrade Lovestone read the letter received from the Secretariat of the ECCI regarding the activities of the opposition within the USSR.

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NATIONAL SCHOOL

Comrade Lovestone reported that a communication had been received from the CI relative to Party schools and especially with reference to a Central Party School. Also on a letter from the Agitprop Dept. requesting that the question of a National School be taken up at the next Polcom meeting.

Comrade Wolfe reported on the progress of the Workers School of New York.

Motions by Wolfe:

- 1—That the School be placed under the direction of the National Agitprop Department.
- 2—That it continue, for its New York work, to accept the guidance and the direction of the District Agitprop Department with the obvious right of final decision in the National Agitprop.
- 3—That the drive for funds and for a new building be authorized, preferably in conjunction with a building for the District Bookstore and other organizations.
- 4—That a plan be elaborated for night resident students from other districts and for a National Day Summer School.

- 5—That party comrades assigned to teach in the Workers School shall not be assigned to give more than one night for teaching but shall consider that one night a week as a major Party task and as obligatory as any other assignment by the Political Committee or General Committee.
- 6—That attendance in the Workers School for active Party workers should in general not be more than one night a week but that that shall be considered as major Party work, and both the right and duty of every Party comrade to get one night a week of such instruction to improve his general work.
- 7—That the other suggestions embodied in the report also be turned over to the Agitprop Committee for study and for working out a concrete program.

Motion by Lovestone: on procedure:

That the discussion be limited to five minutes each and to the general line.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

Motion by Bittelman:

- 1—That we continue to develop the Workers School in New York in the direction of a general labor college, retaining, as at present, the actual Party control, continuing to widen its basis, indirectly bringing in the ideology of our Party.
- 2—That the Agitprop Department be instructed to prepare a program for the launching of a Central Party School for training active Party workers, to be started with a three months' residential course in the coming summer.
- 3—That the Workers School in New York continue to extend its activities on a national scale.

Motions by Lovestone:

- 1—That the Agitprop be instructed to devise ways and means of increasing the attendance at the trade union course of the School.
- 2—That the Agitprop be instructed to devise ways and means of eliminating Scott Nearing from the course in Imperialism, and to find another course for him.

Motion by Lovestone:

That these recommendations be referred to the Agitprop Dept. Voting: Carried unanimously.

LENIN STUDENTS.

Comrade Wolfe reported: That the following names were submitted to the Polcom, out of which six were to be chosen to go to the School: Krumbein, Baker, Oehler, Zack, R. Grecht, Shklar, Dinkfelt, Cowl, Reynolds, Bloomfield, Heywood, Hill and S. Croll (recommended by the Far Eastern University) and M. Hansen.

Motion by Wolfe:

That the following six be selected from the list: Krumbein, Baker, Zack, Shklar, Dinkfelt and M. Hansen.

Additional Motions by Lovestone:

- 1—That the students go as soon as finances for their shipment is available.
- 2—That in the mean while, the students be permitted to contract whatever loans they can to enable them to go

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to the Soviet Union, and the Party assumes responsibility for the loans, to be repaid upon receipt of the fare from the Lenin Institute.

- 3—That the Party in no way at all assume any financial responsibility for the dependents and relatives of any of the students. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Motion by Lovestone:

- 1—That we grant the request of Comrade Cowl for permission to leave and we give her a letter of recom-

mendations for entrance to the Far Eastern or Central European School.

- 2—That we ask the C I that Heywood Hall and Sonia Croll be added to the American students in the Lenin School in view of their being there and their good record in the Far Eastern School.

Amendment by Bittelman:

That the following six be selected for the Lenin School: Krumbeir, Zack, Cowl, Chilofksy, Baker and Grecht.

Amendment by Bittelman: on Cowl motion:

That she be recommended, if possible, for the Lenin School.

Amendment by Stachel:

That Heywood Hall and Sonia Croll be instructed to return to this country.

Voting: on Bittelman's amendment on Cowl:

For: Bittelman. Against: Lovestone, Gitlow, Stachel, Wolfe, Lifshitz.

Voting: On Lovestone motion on Cowl:

Carried unanimously.

Voting: on Stachel Amendment:

For: Lifshitz, Stachel, Wolfe. Against: Gitlow, Lovestone.

Motion by Wolfe: on students selected for School:

For: Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, Stachel, Lifshitz, Trachtenberg. Against: Bittelman.

Voting: on Bittelman's amendment:

For: Bittelman. Against: Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, Stachel, Lifshitz, Trachtenberg.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 89

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

NOVEMBER 30, 1927

#11

Meeting opened at 7:00 P.M.

Present: Wolfe, Bittelman, Weinstone, Lovestone, Trachtenberg, Minor, Cannon, Foster, Lifshitz, Stachel, Gitlow, Gomez, Browder, Zam, Aronberg, Hermann, Harry Schachtman, Miller, Mindel.

Agenda:

- 1—Russian Party Convention
- 2—Unemployment
- 3—Foreign Born
- 4—Letter from C I
- 5—Request from C I Info. Dept.
- 6—Department Reports
 - a) Agitprop
 - b) Org
 - c) Negro
 - d) Anti-Imperialist
- 7—Daily Worker
- 8—Language Fractions
 - a) Hungarian
 - b) South Slavic
 - c) Finnish
- 9—T U E L
- 10—I L D
- 11—Needle Trades Situation
- 12—Y W L
- 13—Cooperative League

RUSSIAN PARTY CONVENTION

The following wire was proposed to be sent to the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party:

The CEC of the Workers (Communist) Party of America sends fraternal greetings to the Fifteenth Congress of the

CPSU. Together with the whole Comintern, we take pride in the tremendous achievements by the toiling masses of the Soviet Union in socialist reconstruction. The five-year economic plan submitted to the Congress by the Central Committee constitutes another long stride in the direction of socialism and provides for further improvement of the conditions of the masses, including the introduction of the seven-hour day. This is increasing the faith of the toiling masses of the world in Communism. Thus capitalism is further undermined, and the world revolution promoted.

Conscious of the war danger confronting the Soviet Union, our Party will do its utmost to combat the efforts of American imperialism to join forces with Britain for a joint attack upon the socialist fatherland of the working class. We are fully confident of the ability of the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee to mobilize and inspire the masses for defense of the Soviet Union.

) Unity in the CPSU and unity in the Comintern are basic conditions for the defense and the socialist growth of the Soviet Union and for the growth of the world Communist movement. Therefore our Party urges the Fifteenth Congress to stop finally the splitting activities of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, and expel from the Party forthwith all those who persist in the opposition's reverting to Monism.

We extend to the Fifteenth Congress our fraternal wishes for the success of its deliberations and pledge our efforts for maintaining the unity and Leninist line of the Comintern.

Central Executive Committee.

Workers (Communist) Party of America

Motion by Lovestone:

To send the cablegram tonight. Voting: Carried unanimously.

REQUEST FROM CI INFORM. DEPT.

Comrade Lovestone reported that the request was for someone to take the place of Bosse, who wished to return. The Secretariat unanimously recommends Comrade Fralkin should be sent provided that there is no expense to the Party.

Amendment by Browder:

That Comrade Blankenstein be considered as a candidate.

Voting: Fralkin: For: Gitlow, Lovestone, Wolfe, Stachel, Litshitz. Blankenstein: Foster, Bittelman, Cannon.
Abstain: Minor, Weinstone, Trachtenberg.
Comrade Fralkin was elected to go as the American Referent.

I L D.

Comrade Cannon reported on the ILD Conference and its work.

Motions by Cannon:

- 1—That the Polcom approve the work and the general line of policy in the ILD work.
- 2—To reiterate the original Party decision that every member of the Party should be a dues paying member of the ILD.
- 3—That the Party issue a statement supporting the Christmas Fund.
- 4—To instruct the New York DEC to affect the reorganization of the New York Section within two weeks in collaboration with the National Office and place an experienced organizer in charge of the work.
- 5—To instruct the Jewish Bureau to organize a Jewish Section of the ILD. Voting: Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 91

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 11, 1928

#17

Meeting opened at 8:15 P.M.

Present: Wolfe, Foster, Lovestone, Bittelman, Lifshitz,
Stachel, Trachtenberg, Weinstone, Gomez, Harry,
Hermann, Mindel, Costrell

Absent: Gitlow and Dunne were out of town; Cannon was
ill. Minor getting special issue of Daily Worker out.

C I COMMUNICATIONS

Letter from the Presidium of the CI: That the Plenum of
the ECCI will be February 1st, 1928 with the following
agenda:

1—Russian Question, 2—Trade Union Question, 3—
Chinese question, 4—Question of next World Congress
of the CI.

That the provisional agenda for the VI World Congress
which will be submitted to the Next Plenum for ap-
proval is as follows:

1—Reports—a) of the ECCI b) of the EC YCI c) of
the International Control Commission. 2—Confirma-
tion of the Draft Program of the ECCI. 3—War Dan-
ger. 4—Colonial question together with Chinese ques-
tion. 5—Russian Question. 6—Questions concerning
individual Sections and mass organizations. 7—Elec-
tions.

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Motion by Lovestone:

That we wire mandates to the following comrades in
Moscow:

Engdahl, Pepper and Browder with instructions that
the delegation should submit a report in writing im-
mediately after the Plenum, to the Party.

Amendment by Foster:

What as we are entitled to four delegates. I nominate Harrison George as well.

Substitute by Lovestone:

That the American Delegation should be Engdahl, Pepper and Browder and if there is no objection to Harrison George on the grounds that he is not a member of the CEC that he should be a regular delegate, otherwise he should be a fraternal delegate.

Voting: All members for the Substitute motion except Weinstone who records his vote against Pepper.

Cable from CI recommending Jenkins to the Party as Organization Instructor.

Motion by Lovestone:

That we inform the Org Dept, that we accept Comrade Jenkins.

Voting: For—Lovestone, Bittelman, Weinstone, Wolfe, Stachel, Lifshitz. Against—Trachtenberg and Foster

Comrade Foster recorded his vote for Voxoff.

NEEDLE TRADES

Comrade Lovestone reported that the profit at the Bazaar amounted only to \$10,000 and that the Secretariat recommended the following:

- 1—That the Daily Worker return the \$150 given them for advertising
- 2—The Freiheit return \$500
- 3—The Unit Cooperative return \$650
- 4—The Restaurant return \$600
- 5—The Unit Cooperative return \$1,000
- 6—That the Party get a loan of \$2,500 from the Ukranian House in Detroit
- 7—That the ILD be instructed to make a loan of \$3,000 to the needle trades, the basis of repayment to be arranged between the ILD and the needle trades.

8—That the ILD should take over the defense cases and should pay the defense prisoners the regular normal defense and the \$60 a week for prisoners should be dropped.

9—That we endorse the arrangement whereby we have sent out Zimmerman and Gold to those people on the 'special Party contributors' list.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 95

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JUNE 15, 1928

#40

Meeting opened at 10:00 P.M.

Present: Gitlow, Cannon, Foster, Bittelhan, Minor, Swift, Stachel, Lovestone, Weinstone, Zam, Lifshitz, Trachtenberg, Miller, Costrell, Cohen, Aronberg, Siskind, Abern, Gomez, Porter, Markus, Beidenkapp, Wattenberg

Absent: Wolfe, Zam

Mining: Anthracite

Comrade Swift presented the following decisions of the Mining Subcommittee as motions before the Political Committee:

1—That our general policy should be that we shall not split the local unions of the UMWA now but only in connection with or after the national convention, we shall affiliate the local unions to the Districts and the exception from this policy should be where the majority of the membership is for us and only the leadership of the local unions is against us; in such cases we must split the local unions

- 2—In the strike regions, our comrades are instructed not to accept anything less than the Jacksonville scale and that until such time as our party, through the left wing organizations, calls off the strike, our Party members who go back to work automatically sacrifice their membership in the Party, it being the Party policy to reinstate these comrades without prejudice upon the calling off of the strike.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 96

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 18, 1928

#18

Meeting opened 8:15 P.M.

Present: Foster, Cannon, Wolfe, Lovestone, Dunne, Trachtenberg, Stachel, Lifshitz, Weinstone, Zam, Mindel, Harry, Hermann, Gomez, M, F.

Absent: Minor, Bittelman were ill. Gitlow out of town on tour.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT

Comrade Lovestone reported for the Secretariat, covering the following points: Joint Defense Bazaar which was not as good as expected. Political situation in needle trades much better but will be hurt by financial situation unless this can be improved; Women's Organization in Minnesota suggests calling national conference of women's organizations in country; Dues report last month good, with small exemption the unemployment affects Party great deal, initiation stamps since September over thousand; letter from Bedacht regarding wages; Blue Blouses being toured by Workers International Relief and the question of their being asked to come here; appeal by Koretz against decision of Secretariat that he go to Chicago; letter from Hamilton on coal situation; ILD—its cases, organization, etc. with re-

spect to Paris Commune, Plan for Jewish section received from Cannon but none from Lifshitz, Recommendations from Mopr for Chinese defense, Cannon's tour in February, Fraction meetings of National Committee and Executive Council. The following recommendations by the Secretariat on the above were presented:

- 1—That the Women's Conference be held
- 2—To defer action on the Bedacht request until the Plenum when the matter will be taken up with Comrade Bedacht
- 3—That a new organization be formed to tour the Blue Blouses, the proceeds to be distributed as follows: 40% to National Office of Party, 25% to the Daily Worker, 10% to the Freiheit and 25% to the W I R.
- 4—That the needle trades comrades find some other comrade to go to Chicago to take the place of Comrade Koretz.
- 5—To endorse the proposal of Comrade Hamilton on the coal situation in principle and try out the plan in its practical aspects.
- 6—That the usual procedure of the ILD in connection with the Paris Commune celebration be followed
- 7—That the Party fraction in the National Committee of the ILD hold a meeting once a month and the Fraction in the Executive Council meet when called.

Y W L

On the delegation to the C I Plenum.

Motion by Lovestone:

The Secretariat recommends that the YWL representative to the Kim should be a fraternal delegate to the CI Plenum.

Voting: Carried unanimously

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 97

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

JUNE 27, 1928

#41

Meeting opened at 9:00 P.M.

Present: Gitlow, Aronberg, Minor, Olgin, Ballam, Costrell, Herberg, Abern, Stachel, Trachtenberg, Miller, Lifshitz, Weisbord, Hungarian Bureau representative

MOORE APPEAL

Re appeal sent by Moore on the election of delegates to the CI Congress. The appeal is as follows:

"Appeal against Polcom decision reducing Negro delegation to two, Whiteman Phillips despite CI instruction send good representative Negro delegation stop realizing important thorough analysis Negro work Negro conference recommended five most active leading comrades Moorehead Negro Department Secretary ANLC, CEC member, Fulp left wing leader minors strike, Doty organizer Negro plumbers, Whiteman organizer ANLC Ford delegate Profintern stop exclusion head Negro work narrow manoeuvre prevent thorough analysis errors especially request ECCI require Moore be delegate stop immediate answer necessary. Moore"

Motions by Stachel:

That the acting secretary be authorized to answer the appeal along the following lines:

- 1—That in our opinion four delegates, two regular and two fraternal will be able to present the Negro work of the Party and take up important problems facing us in this work
- 2—That Moore was not selected because the Polcom has no confidence in him as a delegate to the Comintern because

- a) He attacked the Party before non-Party members,
 - b) He justified attacks by non-Party members, such as Warreno,
 - c) Failure to issue a statement disassociating himself with Warreno and attacking him, altho asked to do so for the last six months,
 - d) Moore is not a member of the CEC but an alternate,
 - e) Moore, as head of the Negro Department for one year, did not get out one issue of the Champion, but only when the Party put on two special people in the last week did we finally get out the Negro Champion,
 - f) In all this one year, Moore did not get one Negro member into the Party,
 - g) Did not issue a single piece of literature or application blank,
 - h) general incompetence
- 3—Moore refused to come out as Party member, and only recently when the Negro Committee voted this unanimously, did he do so.

Voting: For: All comrades except

Against: Aronberg.

Abstain: Costrell

CARRIED

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 98

MINUTES OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CEC

Polcom #68

NOVEMBER 14, 1928

Meeting opened at 11:30 A.M.

Present: Pure, Swift, Lovestone, Bedacht, Minor, Gitlow, Staehel, Wolfe, Aronberg, Bittelman, Foster, Kaplan, Wicks, Lifshitz, Huiswood.

Also: Marcus, Benjamin, Wagenknecht, Smith,
Crouch, Miller, Costrell

Agenda:

- 1—International Communications
- 2—Convention Arrangements
- 3—Election Campaign Reports
- 4—Douglas Letter
- 5—Cannon-Trotsky Investigation
- 6—New Bedford Situation
- 7—Cooperative Matters

I. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Communications presented as follows:

LENIN SCHOOL

Motions by Lovestone:

- 1—To have a Sub-committee of three be in charge of considering applicants for the Lenin School and bring a report to the Polbureau.
- 2—That a letter be addressed to all DOs notifying them to the effect that there are seven vacancies open for the Lenin School this year in the American Party quota and that the DOs should take up through the District Executive Committee the question of recommending applicants, who should then fill out the questionnaire to be mailed to such applications, such questionnaire to be prepared by the Sub-committee.

Voting: Carried unanimously.

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

Report by Lovestone of decision to delay action on the question of the Kim letter until it has been reviewed by the Polcom. A wire has been received from Engdahl to the effect that the CI itself is now examining the letter. We must state our opinion on the matter; that the Anglo-American Secretariat has condemned the letter. The matter

is now before the Political Secretariat of the CI which will not act until statement of the CEC is received.

Motion by Lovestone:

That the question of the Kim letter be the first order of business at the next meeting.

Voting:

For: All comrades except

Against: Foster, Bittelman

Amendment by Stachel:

That the letter be furnished to Polcom members immediately

Voting:

For: All comrades except

Against: Foster, Bittelman

Amendment by Aronberg:

That the NEC of the YWL furnish to every member of the Polcom a copy of the mimeographed letter which has been ready for the last two weeks.

Voting:

For: Foster, Bittelman

Against: All others

Motion by Lovestone:

That the Polbureau notify the CI that the question is being considered and that in one week the statement of the CEC will be sent to the CI.

Voting:

For: All comrades except

Against: Foster, Bittelman

Motion by Bittelman:

That the Polcom informs the NEC of the YWL that it shall proceed immediately with the carrying out of the decisions of the YCI letter and they immediately make public this letter. 2) That before we send

any communication on the matter to the Political Secretariat of the Comintern; that we be presented with the official request of the Comintern on that matter.

Motion #1 lost.

Voting:

For: Foster, Bittelman.

Opposed: All others.

Motion #2 carried unanimously.

Statement by Kaplan:

- 1—The letters have been held up on request of the Polcom.
- 2—The Polcom requested holding up the letter due to its political contents.
- 3—The organizational decisions, etc., the NEC has proceeded to carry into effect.

Amendment by Swift to Bittelman's Motion: The Polcom approves the action of the NEC of the Young Workers League in carrying out the concrete suggestions of the YCI regarding youth work.

Questions by Bittelman to Kaplan:

- 1—Whether the NEC of the YWL has discussed and acted upon the line, the political line of the YCI letter and the concrete recommendations contained therein.
- 2—If they have discussed the letter and have acted on it, was that action in favor of the political line of that letter or against the political line of that letter.
- 3—If the action taken by the NEC is against the political line, what are the reasons for it.

Reply by Kaplan:

The NEC on request of the Polcom did not take action on the letter; that is, we did not take action on the questions which the Polcom wished to take up further, namely, the political contents of that letter particularly dealing with the Party situation. The NEC had a thorough discussion on the letter and the NEC also

made decisions on all questions which involved the youth work as well as the organizational decisions contained within the letter. These decisions are being carried out at the present time.

Letter from International Arbeiter Hilfe read by Swift:

Profintern has a resolution to organize strike relief nationally and internationally and requests us to take up the question with WIR and take necessary measures.

Motion by Swift:

That the suggestion of the CEC of the WIR regarding the Profintern resolution should be taken up by the secretariat together with the TUEL and WIR. Carried unanimously.

Motion by Swift:

Regarding the Right danger in the Comintern. In order to fully inform the whole Party membership about new manifestations of the Right danger in the various sections of the CI and in order to combat the Right danger, the Polcom instructs the Party press to print the following documents:

- 1—Documents regarding the Thaelmann case.
- 2—Documents about the new outbreak of Brandlerism in the German Party.
- 3—The October statement of the CEC of the CPSU regarding the errors committed in the Moscow organization.
- 4—The speech of Comrade Stalin delivered at the plenary session of the Moscow Committee.

The Polcom instructs the Agitprop to print in the next issue of the Communist an article explaining and combatting these manifestations of the Right danger within the CI and instructs the Party press printing and editorially commenting on and explaining the above-mentioned documents.

Carried.

Amendment by Wolfe:

That the letter from the CI to the Czecho-Slovakian Party be included in the documents.

Carried.

Report by Foster on Trade Union appropriation.

Motion by Lovestone:

That the Polburo takes cognizance of the following facts:

- 1—These funds were sent and received here during the absence of Foster and Lovestone as members of the secretariat.
- 2—These funds were sent through the regular channels and received as such.
- 3—The information received during the absence of Comrades Foster and Lovestone regarding these funds was confusing.
- 4—That the funds however were spent entirely for mining work and even far in excess of the appropriation.
- 5—That the Secretariat go over the accounts of the mining expense from date of receipt of funds till today and check up to see if any money has not yet been spent on mining, if any debts were contracted on the basis of this appropriation, the secretariat take steps to meet the debts.
- 6—The Polcom takes note of the fact that almost all the debts contracted on the basis of the appropriation of this sort forthcoming, have already been paid.

Voting:

In favor: All comrades except

Against: Foster, Bittelman

Motion by Foster:

That this action of these comrades be disapproved and also the application of this money to general Party expense should also be disapproved.

Voting:

In favor: Foster, Bittelman

Against: All others.

Motion by Wolfe:

That we invite fraternal delegates to our convention from the Mexican and Canadian Parties, declaring our willingness to defray the expenses and utilize that to make further plans for our struggle against American imperialism.

Carried.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 99**MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF C.E.C.**

#70

11/23/28p

Meeting opened at 4:00 P.M.

Present: Stachel, Gitlow, Foster, Lovestone, Bittelman, Wolfe, Swift, Minor, Aronberg, Zam, Weinstone, Bedacht, Lifshitz, Kaplan, Weisbord, Marcus, Ballam, Wagenknecht, Mindel, Zelms.

Agenda: Continued from previous meeting.

YWL

Cable received from Engdahl to the effect that the appeal of the Polcom on the letter from the YCI and YWL is being considered by the Comintern. Comrade Bedacht presented the attached statement for adoption by the CEC of the Party.

Motions by Bedacht:

- 1—That the letter be sent immediately as appeal by the CEC to the CI against the YCI letter

2—That the NEC of the YWL of America be instructed to send out this appeal together with the letter of the YCI to its units.

Voting:

For: Stachel, Gitlow, Lovestone, Swift, Bedacht, Wolfe

Against: Foster, Bittelman

Carried.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 101

**WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
NATIONAL OFFICE**

**STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND CASH EXPENDITURES
FOR MONTH ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1927**

CASH RECEIPTS

Dues Stamps CS		\$2,002.87
Initiation Stamps CS		84.50
Supply Department CS—		
10th Anniversary Buttons	\$ 25.00	
Literature	13.66	
Leaflets	230.02	
Supplies	13.30	
Pin Buttons	100.00	381.98
Convention Stamps		26.50
Fight Injunction Fund		6.00
Donations Received		1,230.00
NO Share District Affairs		287.85
Lenin Student Exp Refund		1,350.00
Negro Student Exp Refund		710.00
Account #26 Refund		90.00
Proceeds Tenth Anniversary Meetings		47.16
Loans Receivable—Dist 7		45.00

Rents Received—YWL	\$ 50.00	
Literature Dept	70.00	120.00
		<hr/>
Check Exchanges		125.40
		<hr/>
CASH RECEIVED FOR DECEMBER 1927		\$6,507.26

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 102A

Received—		
Nemser		\$20,300.00
Julius		1,000.00
Foshers		3,252.00
Manly		3,350.00
		<hr/>
		\$27,902.00
Paid out—		
Marcus		\$ 1,000.00
Mining		5,179.46
On hand		1,500.00
N. O.		21,650.00
		<hr/>
	1,427.46	\$29,329.46

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 103A

SPECIAL DELEGATION TRIP ACCOUNT

MARCH 21ST TO 26TH, 1929 INCL.

JAY LOVESTONE

Received		
3-22-29 Loan Golos	\$2,000.00	
3-21-29 Marcus Fare	222.31	
3-21-29 Verne Re Canton Loan	420.74	
3-22-29 Donation Bob Minor	30.00	
3-22-29 Verne Re Canton Loan	200.00	
3-22-29 Loan Neiuser	300.00	
	<hr/>	
Total Received	\$3,173.05	\$3,173.05

Spent

3-22-29 S. S. Tickets	\$1,800.00
3-22-29 Huiswood Permit	10.00
3-22-29 Dirbg General office	400.00
3-24-29 Huiswood Balance	60.00
3-24-29 Welsh Balance	60.00
3-24-29 Bedacht Balance	70.00
3-24-29 Gitlow Balance	70.00
3-24-29 Lovestone Balance	70.00
3-24-29 Miller Balance	70.00
3-24-29 Myerscough Balance	60.00
3-24-29 Bloor Balance	70.00
3-24-29 Noral Balance	60.00
3-24-29 White Balance	70.00
3-26-29 Cable Aquit.	8.75

Total Spent

\$2,878.75 \$2,878.75

April 1, 1929 Balance on Hand

Paid to Gitlow

\$ 294.30

Settled in full Jay Lovestone

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 103B

APRIL 4, 1929

Received from James Hay the following:

James Hay	\$20.00
W. J. White	20.00
Wm. Lang	20.00
John Jukubowski	20.00
Meyerscough	20.00
Noral	20.00
Fred Houston	20.00
Huiswood	20.00
Mrs. White	10.00

Signatures

W. J. White
 John Jukubowski
 Ed T. Myerscough
 Alex Noral
 Fred Houston
 Otto Huiswood
 Mrs. Mary Ellen White
 William H. Lang

 Petitioner's Exhibit No. 104

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA
 43 E. 125TH ST., NEW YORK CITY
 NATIONAL OFFICE

November 30, 1927

To all CEC Members
 & Party Functionaries

Dear Comrades:

In response to requests from Party functionaries who wish to obtain books published by the International Publishers, at reduced prices, Alexander Trachtenberg of International Publishers met with the Secretariat and upon his recommendations, the Secretariat adopted the following decision:

All members of the CEC, DOs, and other *paid* Party functionaries are invited to purchase books of International Publishers direct from the Publishers at 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, at a discount of $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ ($\frac{1}{3}$) off the retail price of their books. These purchases must be *cash transactions* and for *personal* use only.

This arrangement with International Publishers should enable all Party functionaries to obtain the various important books published by them at a discount allowed to book stores. A list of publications of International Publishers

is enclosed and you can send your order to International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Fraternally yours,

For the Secretariat
Jay Lovestone
 Executive Secretary

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 105

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA
 National Office

1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD., ROOM 301
 CHICAGO, ILL.

Phone Monroe 4717

C. E. Ruthenberg, *General Secretary*
 N. Dozenberg, *Accounts and Supplies Dept.*
 Jay Lovestone, *Organization Department*
 Max Bedacht, *Agitprop Dept.*
 "Daily Worker," *Official Daily Organ*
 J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Dunne, *Editors*

January 15, 1927.

Dear Comrade Gitlow:

When sending in reports on the Needle Trades situation, will you kindly forward copies to the Trade Union Committee. This is very important. Sometimes we lost a day in locating reports, or perhaps in some cases we don't get to see them at all if copies are sent only to the National Office.

In the case of confidential reports, please send them to the following address:

David Rasnik,
 4232 Michigan Ave.,
 Chicago, Ill.

Fraternally yours,
 WM. Z. FOSTER

